DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 330 692 SP 033 020

AUTHOR Dilworth, Mary E.
TITLE Motivation, Rewards, and Incentives. Trends and Issues Paper No. 3.
INSTITUTION ERIC Clearinghouse on Teacher Education, Washington, D.C.
SPONS AGENCY Office of Educational Research and Improvement (ED), Washington, DC.
REPORT NO ISBN-0-89333-081-7
PUB DATE Apr 91
CONTRACT RI88062015
NOTE 21p.; Adapted from "Reading between the Lines: Teachers and their Racial/Ethnic Cultures" (ED 322 148).
AVAILABLE FROM ERIC CLearinghouse on Teacher Education, One Dupont Circle, NW, Suite 610, Washington, DC 20036-2412 ($12.00).
PUB TYPE Information Analyses - ERIC Clearinghouse Products (071)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC01 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Elementary Secondary Education; Higher Education; *Incentives; *Job Satisfaction; *Minority Group Teachers; *Rewards; Socioeconomic Background; Socioeconomic Influences; Teacher Background; Teacher Characteristics; *Teacher Motivation; *Teacher Persistence; Teacher Recruitment; Teaching (Occupation)

ABSTRACT

Examination of factors that contribute to a sustained commitment to the teaching profession suggests that motivation is influenced by nationality, socioeconomic background, gender, and point in time. In general, minority teachers come from lower socioeconomic backgrounds and have greater access to teaching than to some other professions. Rewards and incentives play a key role in the level of satisfaction that teachers derive from their work. Teachers in general garner more satisfaction from intrinsic rewards, such as the fulfillment of having successfully contributed to the development of a child, than from extrinsic rewards such as compensation and position. However, differences exist among ethnic groups in general satisfaction: receipt of various types of rewards, orientation towards colleagues and individuals in authority positions, and desire to teach certain types of children. A significant indicator of teacher job satisfaction is length of service. Differing perceptions among ethnic groups with regard to discipline problems, the ability to achieve one's ideals, and potential burnout influence the decision to enter and remain in teaching. (IAH)

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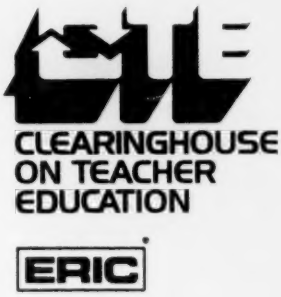

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Published by
ERIC CLEARINGHOUSE ON TEACHER EDUCATION
AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF COLLEGES FOR TEACHER EDUCATION
One Dupont Circle · Suite 610 · Washington, DC 20036-2412
April 1991

2 B

CITE AS:
Dilworth, M. E. (1991). *Motivation, rewards, and incentives* (Trends and Issues Paper No. 3). Washington, DC: ERIC Clearinghouse on Teacher Education.

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ISBN 0-89333-081-7

Office of Educational Research and Improvement U.S. Department of Education

This publication was prepared with funding from the Office of Educational Research and Improvement, U.S. Department of Education, under contract number RI 88062015. The opinions expressed in this report do not necessarily reflect the positions or policies of OERI or DOE.

MOTIVATION, REWARDS, AND INCENTIVES

As the nation pursues those who are perceived to be the "best and the brightest" to teach in the nation's classrooms, it is useful to examine what factors contribute to a sustained commitment to the profession. There are basic and widely accepted notions about what motivates an individual to enter the teaching profession and about the rewards and incentives one gleans from participating in it.

Generally, inducements for recruitment and retention are financially based. While fellowships/scholarships, minimum salary compensation levels/statewide salary schedules, loan forgiveness programs, urban teacher retention projects, teacher recognition programs, career ladders/differentiated staffing, and merit and performance pay appear to be attractive to prospective and practicing teachers of all backgrounds (Scannell, 1990), there are other motivating factors that suggest differentiating appeal across racial/ethnic groups. A cross-cultural understanding of motivation can do much to enhance recruitment efforts while rewards and incentives provide a good point of reference for retention strategies.

Motivation

The literature on motivation as it relates to teaching is extremely consistent regardless of nationality, socioeconomic background, gender or point in time. It is a foregone conclusion that prospective and practicing teachers enter the profession with the altruistic motive of helping youth and society. An example of this thinking is found in the results of surveys conducted in 1961 and 1985 of teacher education students at Northern Illinois University (Joseph & Green, 1986); of teachers responding to Lortie's (1975) "Five Towns" survey in the early 1970s; of Singapore student teachers in 1965, 1981, and 1988 (Soh Kay Cheng, 1989); and of Black, Hispanic, and Asian American teacher education students from all regions and socioeconomic

backgrounds in 1988 (AACTE, 1990). In all instances, the decision to enter teaching is primarily prompted by the noble gesture of service, rather than by material gain.

Joseph and Green (1986) attempt to put the question of motivation in perspective when they state: "Suspicions about self-reported motives expressed by researchers and educators suggest that the literature on teacher motivations should not be accepted at face value" (p. 31). The authors found reasonable evidence that motivation in teaching may be a learned response which masks deep neurotic impulses or provides a mechanism for saving face. For example, those who pursue teaching may well have an underlying desire for superiority or perceive an occupation working with children more comfortable (especially to women) or less threatening than working with adults.

One motive often cited is that teaching provides an opportunity for individuals from blue-collar backgrounds to move to white-collar jobs. While some researchers (Sedlak & Schlossman, 1987; Sykes, 1983; Dworkin, 1980) provide convincing evidence that the desire to teach is conditioned more by the heretofore limited access to other occupations than by aspirations to become part of another class, it can be argued that teaching was the only available vehicle for women and minorities to an upper class. The motive of class mobility appears to be subject to socioeconomic conditions more so than others and as a result has greater implication for minority participation than do others.

Dworkin (1980) offers an interesting perspective of the class mobility of teachers by race/ethnicity. In a study of urban Black, White, and Chicano teachers in the Southwest from 1930-1970, he found that younger (under 35) Black and White teachers are more often from families where the head of household is in a high-status occupation than are older teachers (36 and above). On the other hand, young Chicano teachers are more inclined to

come from blue-collar and lower occupational origins than their more senior counterparts. He notes that this exception is likely as Chicanos, more recently than Blacks, have been able to utilize education as a vehicle for upward mobility.

Dworkin suggests that since the 1930s, teaching has been frequented by the children of individuals in high occupational strata and that children of blue-collar parentage participate at a greater rate during times of teacher shortages. He argues against the generally accepted notion that the "class structure had become more permeable, enabling individuals from working-class and farm backgrounds to enter public school teaching" (p. 71). It should be noted that those individuals who were "young" during Dworkin's 1970 study, are now part of the emerging older cohort and the premise that young White and Black teachers come from professionally classed families and Chicanos from blue-collar may no longer be credible.

More recent data (NEA, 1987) suggest that there has been a significant increase in the percentage of teachers whose fathers are professionals or semiprofessional, from 14.5 percent in 1961 to 21.9 percent in 1986. However, 22.5 percent of minorities, compared to 7.2 percent of Whites, report fathers who are unskilled laborers. Similarly, while 22.2 percent of White teachers report manager or self-employed fathers, only 15.5 percent of minorities report the same. In addition, minority teachers are more inclined to have parents completing less than both an elementary and a high school education.

Indeed, there have been some changes in the character of teaching, and of individuals pursuing teaching, in the past decade; generally, new teachers are older, spend more time preparing to teach, and can expert to earn more money initially than their predecessors. Although women continue to dominate the profession, education is no longer the field of first choice for minorities or for the general undergraduate population (ACE, 1987).

A 1988 survey of teacher education students (AACTE, 1990) indicates that significant proportions of new Black, Hispanic, and Asian American teachers likely come from lower-income families. Specifically, the survey reveals that approximately 31 percent of Asian, 20 percent of Black, and 14 percent of Hispanic teacher education students come from families with an estimated income of less than $15,000. Approximately 12 percent of White students report parental incomes at this level. Teacher education students coming from families with an estimated parental income of $15,000-$30,000 are also generally perceived as low-income. Approximately 51 percent of Hispanic, 36 percent of Black, 27 percent of White, and 13 percent of Asian teacher education students fall in this category. The proportion of education students coming from families of middle- and upper-income brackets ($30,000 or more) shows White students coming from markedly better financial circumstances (60 percent) than Blacks (45 percent), Asians (56 percent) and Hispanics (35 percent).

It is interesting to compare the economic background of those pursuing teaching with those entering a more prestigious occupation such as medicine. An American Association of Medical Colleges study (1989) of students accepted into medical school in fall 1988 provides some measure for comparison. There appear to be considerable differences in the economic backgrounds of teacher education and medical students by race/ethnicity. For instance, 31 percent of Asian American teacher education students report low family incomes of less than $15,000 but only 7 percent of Asian American medical students indicate the same. Approximately 4 percent of White medical students' family economic backgrounds fall in the low-income category, while 12 percent of teacher education students do. Black (15 percent) and Hispanic (ranging from 11 percent to 25 percent, by group) new medical students cite higher rates of poverty than do teacher education students (see Table 1).

Table 1. Percent of Teacher Education and Medical Students from Low-, Moderate-, and Upper-Income Families, by Race/Ethnicity

Income Less Than $15K	% Teacher Education Students	% Medical Students
White	12	4
Black	20	15
Hispanic	14	-
Mexican	-	16
Puerto Rican (Mainland)	-	22
Puerto Rican (Commonwealth)	-	25
Other Hispanic	-	11
Asian	31	7
Native American	-	19

Income $15K-$30K	% Teacher Education Students	% Medical Students
White	27	9
Black	36	17
Hispanic	51	-
Mexican	-	22
Puerto Rican (Mainland)	-	13
Puerto Rican (Commonwealth)	-	21
Other Hispanic	-	13
Asian	13	10
Native American	-	19

Income Greater Than $30K	% Teacher Education Students	% Medical Students
White	60	50
Black	45	34
Hispanic	35	-
Mexican	-	36
Puerto Rican (Mainland)	-	36
Puerto Rican (Commonwealth)	-	32
Other Hispanic	-	42
Asian	56	43
Native American	-	36
Source:	(AACTE, 1990)	(AAMC, 1989)

NOTE: These data represent two distinctly separate surveys, designs and analyses. Teacher education data reflect responses of students enrolled in 1988-89 academic year. Medical student data reflect percent of applicants for 1988. Totals may not equal 100% because of rounding and exclusion of Nonresponse category. A (-) in table indicates data unavailable.

Parental educational attainment also contributes to the demographic profile of new teachers. For the most part, the parental educational backgrounds of teacher education students' mirror those of the nation as a whole. Specifically, approximately 56 percent of Hispanic students report mothers with less than a high school education compared to 39 percent of Asians, 24 percent of Blacks, and 14 percent of Whites. Similarly, approximately 47 percent of Hispanic education students report fathers with less than a high school diploma compared to 26 percent of Blacks, 24 percent of Asians, and 17 percent of Whites (AACTE, 1990).

Understanding that most white-collar jobs require at least a high school diploma, and that most also pay salaries above $15,000, it is safe to assume that a significant proportion of Black, Hispanic, and Asian teacher education students come from blue-collar and/or low-income families. This cursory review is insufficient to conclude that teaching is currently considered a vehicle to permeate a particular socioeconomic class by any group. However, it does suggest that the poor of all groups continue to have reasonable access to the teaching profession, more so than to professions such as medicine. In addition, those of middle- and upper-class backgrounds continue to pursue careers in teaching.

Access to higher education clearly tempers the number and type of individuals entering teaching. As noted earlier, minorities' low participation rates in four-year institutions limit access to a number of occupations, including teaching. On the other hand, Lortie (1975) suggests that such inequities work to the advantage of the teaching profession. He states:

> Few occupations are in as good a position to take advantage of socioeconomic constraints which limit access to college education. The system of inexpensive and accessible colleges for teacher training turns out to be more than an institution of socialization, it also recruits. One finds a kind of 'entrapment' as such colleges draw in students of limited opportunity whose initial interest in teaching is low (p. 48).

Nevertheless, he concedes, and the research literature suggests, if limited opportunity tempers initial interest, it operates in a gentle and benign way.

Changes in higher and teacher education within the past decade also counter the easy access notion. The requirements to enter and exit teacher education institutions have increased substantially. What were once four-year programs now generally require an additional semester's work; five-year programs to allow for additional field and induction experiences are becoming more common; and nearly every state requires a certification examination for beginning teachers (AACTE, 1987a, b).

Rewards and Incentives

The motivation to enter teaching is somewhat useless without something to sustain it. For the teaching profession, these sustaining components are termed "rewards and incentives" and they play a key role in the level of satisfaction that teachers derive from their work. "Rewards" and "incentives" are typically used interchangeably in the literature. Although they are closely related, they can be differentiated in that "incentives are rewards that are anticipated on the condition that their potential recipients take particular action" (Kottkamp, Cohn, Provenzo, & McCloskey, 1987, p. 22). Rewards are commonly categorized as extrinsic, ancillary, and intrinsic. While extrinsic rewards, such as salaries, are objective and are received in detachment from the process of work itself, intrinsic rewards are subjective and are received wholly while engaged in the work itself. Ancillary rewards such as income security draw on objective characteristics of the work, but may also be subjectively valued more by some than by others (Kottkamp et al., 1987, p. 19).

As the previous discussion on motivation suggests, teachers universally garner more gratification from intrinsic rewards, such as the fulfillment of

having successfully contributed to the development of a child, than from extrinsic rewards such as compensation and position. Yet, in their study of Black, Cuban, and White teachers, Kottkamp et al. found differences among groups in general satisfaction; receipt of various types of rewards; orientations toward colleagues and individuals in authority positions; and desire to teach certain types of children. The authors found that Black and Cuban teachers, more than others, gain primary satisfaction through intrinsic rewards, especially when they have the opportunity to study, plan, master classroom management, "reach" students, and associate with colleagues and children. The authors also noted that approximately one-quarter of White respondents choose ancillary rewards at a rate 10 percent greater than Cuban teachers, and three times that of Black teachers.

Kottkamp et al. (1987) approached this particular study with two questions: whether the receipt of rewards and incentives takes a similar or different pattern across ethnic groups; and whether interactions between the teacher and his/her principal or students enhance the understanding of receipts beyond the knowledge of ethnic identity of the teacher alone. Since their study, "Teacher Ethnicity: Relationships with Teaching Rewards and Incentives," is unique in its analysis on a racial/ ethnic dimension, it will be used to frame the remainder of the discussion.

It is worthy of note that teachers are generally satisfied with their jobs in school (86 percent) and that the majority (57 percent) enjoy their work (Carnegie Foundation, 1990). A simple, yet deceiving indicator of such satisfaction with the rewards of teaching is length of service. Boser (1989) in her study, "Career Patterns and Job Satisfaction of Teacher Education Graduates," found evidence of a positive relationship between career satisfaction and persistence, teachers' gender, self-rated skills, values and accomplishments, age, and life satisfaction. Since adults with appropriate training are free to move in this society from one occupational situation to another, the presumption is that those who remain in teaching obtain ade-

quate benefits from it. In addition, individuals who do leave teaching, likely do so perceiving less risk of difficult re-entry than those in other occupations.

The sheer number of schools in this country gives qualified teachers the impression that they will be able to return to teaching, if they need to, at almost any time and in almost any place in the country. However, the research of Wise, Darling-Hammond, and Berry (1987) suggests that there is increasing diversity in the recruitment, selection, and hiring practices of school districts throughout the nation that impedes an easy entry, exit, and re-entry process for teachers. This finding is somewhat substantiated in NEA (1987) survey data that indicate fewer teachers are being hired than in previous decades and higher percentages of teachers are remaining in their current systems (p. 21).

NEA (1987) found that 4.6 percent of all teachers report two years or less of teaching experience; 44.8 percent had from 3 to 14 years of full-time teaching experience; and fully half of all teachers (50.8 percent) had 15 or more years. The mean number of years of full-time teaching experience in 1986 was 15 years (p. 20). While approximately 50 percent of teacher education students indicate that they intend to pursue teaching for 10 or more years (AACTE, 1990), research data (Metropolitan Life, 1988) also suggest that the majority (55 percent) of new and less experienced minority teachers are more likely to say that they will probably leave the profession within the next 5 years (p. 21).

Although Kottkamp et al. (1987) did not use years of service in the general satisfaction equation, the demographic profile of their respondent group provides some insights and reflects Dworkin's teaching population profile of the 1970s. Specifically, Kottkamp et al. reported that Blacks and Whites have comparable proportions of experience, most ranging from 6 to 20 years, and that Cubans in teaching, generally reflective of the Hispanic population, tend to have a range of fewer and greater years of experience

when compared to the others. NEA (1987) data also show that Black and other minority teachers are less likely to have breaks in service for any reason than their majority counterparts (p. 22).

A more direct and thus reliable gauge of teacher satisfaction is practitioners' responses to the following general questions: How satisfied do you feel about your particular job/career? (Kottkamp et al., 1987; Metropolitan Life, 1988); School? (Kottkamp et al., 1987); How willing would you be to teach again? Metropolitan Life has surveyed teachers on satisfaction since 1984 and reports in 1988 that 50 percent of teachers are "very satisfied" with their job, which is a substantial increase for the period. However, the NEA (1987), surveying educators since 1961, reports a significant decrease in teachers that "certainly" or "probably" would teach again and an increase in the percentage of teachers who would not.

Both national surveys, the NEA and Metropolitan Life, found that minorities and/or younger teachers are more inclined to be dissatisfied with the profession than older, more experienced professionals. The NEA study notes, however, that in 1981 and in 1986, younger teachers (under 30) were reporting their certainty of becoming teachers again in roughly the same proportion as the over-age-50 cohort (p. 59).

On the other hand, Kottkamp et al. (1987) in their survey of Dade County, Florida, teachers found that Whites on the whole were less satisfied with their jobs and schools than Blacks and Cubans. Specifically, they report "a tendency for Anglo teachers to be the least satisfied with their jobs and schools and the most likely to send their own children to a private rather than public school if given the option" (p. 14). It is interesting to note however that Dworkin (1980), in his study of teachers in a southwestern urban district, found no significant differences in the desire to quit teaching among urban Black, White, and Chicano educators of the same occupational origins in the 1970s (p. 72).

As would be expected, neither salary (Kottkamp et al., 1987) nor job security (NEA, 1987) has been identified as having a great influence on a teacher's decision to remain in the profession. Only 16 percent of Whites, 11 percent of Blacks, and 12 percent of Cubans stated that their salary provided the most satisfaction for them. On the other hand, Cubans (40 percent) were more likely than Whites (21 percent) and Blacks (31 percent) to consider "respect from others" a reward of teaching (p. 16).

Regardless of its perceived limited influence, satisfaction typically is tied to working conditions and compensation. According to the NEA, since 1981, teachers working in small school districts seem more satisfied with their careers than those in large- and medium-sized districts (p. 59). This suggests rewards beyond compensation in that teachers in urban and suburban school districts have higher mean salaries than those in smaller systems (Metropolitan Life, 1988, p. 12; NEA, 1987, pp. 66-67). In addition, employment location has been found to have an effect on first-year teachers' self-perceptions of teaching competencies (Frame,1990).

Kottkamp et al. (1987) provide a category of analysis termed "negative rewards," i.e., detractors from positive intrinsic and extrinsic rewards. They report that low salaries, discipline problems and, to a lesser extent, burnout are the most frequently cited deterrents or negative rewards for all racial/ethnic groups. Among teachers of different backgrounds, the authors found Black teachers perceived more problems with discipline, Cubans were frustrated when unable to achieve their own ideals, and Whites were burned out more than others. (See Table 2.)

Table 2. Teachers' Top-Ranked Reasons Why Teachers Are Leaving the Classroom, by Race/Ethnicity

	(In Percent)		
	White	Black	Cuban
Low Salaries	73	75	68
Discipline Problems	62	75	60
Burnout/Exhaustion	44	26	34
Frustration	25	17	28

Source: Kottkamp et al. 1987

NOTE: Kottkamp et al. asked practicing teachers to rank among 10 items reasons why teachers are leaving the profession.

It is interesting to note that in a different survey (AACTE, 1990), when prospective teachers were asked why more minorities are not entering the profession, responses were similar across groups. As Table 3 shows, minority students, and Black students in particular, find low salaries and discipline in the schools to be detractors more so than do Whites. On the other hand, White students do not cite burnout/frustration at as high a rate as their professional colleagues. Frustration in being unable to achieve one's ideals is perceived to be a deterrent to professional entry by Black and Asian students more so than by Whites and Hispanics.

Table 3. Prospective Teachers' Reasons Why Minorities Are Not Entering Teaching, by Race/Ethnicity

	(In Percent)			
	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian
Low Salaries	44	74	62	53
Discipline Problems	23	53	43	41
Burnout Exhaustion	12	29	30	41
Frustration	27	42	32	47

Source: AACTE, 1990.

NOTE: AACTE's Metropolitan Life survey asked teacher education students to select among 8 items reasons why minority students are not entering the profession.

These differences in perceptions may be attributed to a number of factors related to actual experience in teaching, teaching environment, and/or socioeconomic background. Certainly, each group best represents the views of its peers. Consequently, it may be safe to infer that higher teacher salaries will help retain practicing teachers of any group and will specifically help recruit minorities.

Discipline problems in the schools are clearly a reality that many prospective White teachers do not seem to anticipate or comprehend. Since the majority of White teacher education students come from predominantly White rural and suburban schools and neighborhoods, and wish to return to these situations, this lack of comprehension is conceivable. Conversely, minority students who frequently attend urban and low-income schools, often associated with disciplinary problems, may view the teaching experience in a different light (AACTE, 1990).

Since Black and Hispanic women make greater contributions to total family income than do White women, the need to work may be so compelling that burnout and frustration are not feasible or likely reasons for quitting a job. In a study of Black and White women's commitment to work and wages, Hudis (1977) finds that Black women place a primary emphasis on maximizing income. White women may make job decisions that reduce the importance of maximizing income and emphasize instead ancillary rewards such as desirable working hours, commuting distance, or other job characteristics that may conflict with higher wages (p. 141).

Minority teachers are more inclined to see the societal benefit of teaching, in their initial decision to teach and in their present purpose (NEA, 1987). Additionally, according to Kottkamp et al. (1987, p.19), 24 percent of majority teachers find "the economic security, time, freedom from competition, and appropriateness for persons like me" more important than do Cuban teachers (15 percent) and Black teachers (9 percent).

One very interesting difference among teachers is their perceptions of peers and colleagues. According to Kottkamp et al. (1987), Anglo teachers are oriented more toward collegial or peer relationships than are Black teachers. Conversely, Black teachers have more favorable views of principals and are more disposed towards individuals in formal authority positions than are their majority peers (p. 28). This attitude may be partially explained when considering the Metropolitan Life finding that minorities are more critical of their colleagues than others. The study reports that they feel their peers have "minimal expectations for teaching and learning"; "show little expertise and personal knowledge in lecture material"; and "go through the motions of presenting information" (p. 27).

In addition, minority groups' experiences in this country have forced them to rely upon authority and bureaucracy when serious conflict arises. It is consistent therefore for Blacks, Hispanics, Asians, and Native Americans to appeal to school or building authority, i.e., the principal, than to their majority peers, who are not required by law or inference to be fair and equitable.

Finally, in their examination of incentives, Kottkamp et al. (1987) devised a congruency quotient that approximated one-third of teachers actually teaching the kinds of students they prefer. Students, the authors state, are "powerful agents" for the distribution of incentives and disincentives. Students have a wide range of latitude in deciding to work with, fight against, or ignore the teacher's efforts to reach and teach them. The authors' calculations suggest that Black teachers, as a group, would probably be able to derive the highest amount of incentive value from the student populations that they currently teach, while White teachers, as a group, likely would derive the lowest incentive value. Since "incentives are rewards anticipated on the condition that their potential recipients take particular actions" (p. 22), and intrinsic rewards, such as student achievement, are vital to satisfaction for teachers of all groups, this finding is particularly important. Ac-

cording to the Southern Regional Education Board (1991), there is a clear trend in the direction of incentives that focus on school performance, however, is it less clear whether programs designed to reward teachers for their work will be replaced by programs that reward teachers for what students learn. While the proportion of state funds for teacher salaries that are paid through incentive programs is relatively small, the research suggests that the success of such programs will be tempered by the extent to which teachers are comfortable and pleased with the students that they teach.

The previous discussion suggests that teachers of all backgrounds share a common desire to help children grow and develop. However, the decision to pursue this desire occupationally, initially and over time, is often more costly for people of color. As the role of the teacher is redefined in school restructuring efforts, it will be useful to gauge the extent to which changes complement a multiethnic teaching force.

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